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CANADIAN CHALLENGE

By ANNE ROYLE



STORY BEHIND THE
HARMAC WORKERS'
STRUGGLE FOR
A CANADIAN UNION

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DEDICATION

To

The Canadian Pulp & Paper Workers

and

their Friends, who are assisting

them in their fight to become

Masters In Their Own House.

The Rights of every man
are diminished,
When the Rights of one man
are threatened.

J. F. Kennedy

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NOTE:

In the context,

"International" refers to the American based International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers;

"Canadian Union" refers to The Pulp & Paper Workers of Canada.

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INTRODUCTION

This conflict concerns every Canadian who wishes to control his own destiny. For ultimately our Society will have to face the reality of self-determination or foreign domination, whether in the field of labour, business or culture.

This report concerns primarily the Pulp & Paper Industry in British Columbia at the present time, which in essence is changing from an American based International Union to an independent Canadian Union. Already several mills, Crofton, Woodfibre, Prince Rupert, Castlegar and Vancouver had obtained a Canadian Charter during the year of 1963. The workers of the following pulp mills, Prince George, Elk Falls, Port Mellon and Harmac voted to "Go Canadian" during the year of 1966.

I will be dealing mainly with the situation in Harmac, which is a few miles south of Nanaimo, in the so called "banana belt" of Vancouver Island. Harmac Pulp Mill is one of the most up to date plants in the world, and is owned by MacMillan Bloedel Ind. Ltd. It has about 1,000 employees. The International Local No. 695 (International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers) has held the labour and wage contract since its construction.

CHAPTER 1.

Now that I have decided to write this account, it may be necessary to explain a little of my background, for the occasion may arise, when I shall be challenged as to my knowledge and qualifications to write about a controversial issue as this, between Government and Unions.

The main reason for becoming involved in this struggle in its early days, was, that I was the wife of a pulpmill worker.

Secondly, being reared and educated in a British Liberal tradition, it has become part of my philosophy, that the rights of the individual are sacred.

Thirdly. When the administration of the law is not applied on the merits of a particular case, it is then the little people must be prepared to fight for the rights accorded to them by our society.

Fourthly. This challenge to my personal beliefs could not be ignored.

As to my knowledge concerning this struggle and the related facts, and the conspiracies and intrigues behind the scenes, this has come to me from many sources. I have been actively involved from the beginning, with letters to the press and petitioning for public support from door to door, in shopping centres, in fairs, on the streets, on the

steps of the Labour Relations Board Vancouver. I have been talking to hundreds of people during my campaign, from ordinary Joes to Intellectual Types. I have been talking to the workers of Harmac and their families. It is these workers who have been rejected by Officialdom, which has failed to ask their opinions and desires. With a mass of press clippings to hand on everything concerning this subject, and also the torrent of subversive propaganda which flows through my mail box, from the International. Listening to speakers from both sides on TV and radio, and dissecting the pious platitudes of a Mr. E. P. O'Neal (The B.C. Director for the Int. Pulp & Sulphite), I have been able to analyse the facts and fictions, and place them in the right perspective. During my Vancouver campaign, I had ample time and opportunity, to discuss with union officials from many locals of various trades, the facets of Canadian stewardship versus International domination. The rumblings beneath the surface were ominous and revealed that the future trend, is for Canadianism throughout the labour movement, in spite of the threats and persuasions heard from the International organisers.

It is the International who will no doubt, hasten to point out, that I became involved for publicity and personal gain. In point of fact, my motives are not influenced by mon-

ey, greed and power. I leave these motives to the opposition. Neither has there been any pressure from interested parties for my participation, on the contrary, I have been discouraged by some officials of the Canadian Local, who are still living in the era of gentlemen's agreements, and who believe the fallacy that a woman is a mere chattel, to be seen and heard at the proper season, and who thrives best in the atmosphere of the kitchen. From the International side I have been discredited in the press and threatened on the street.

Certainly, there are more thorns than roses in this participation.

CHAPTER 2.

You may ask what I mean by "Rejected Citizens"? I mean exactly what I say. These people have been rejected by their own Government and by the Government Agency that was created by the same Government, to assist and advise in problems which arise in the labour field.

They were rejected by fence-sitting politicians of all parties, who skirted around the issue (free vote for the pulpmill workers to choose their own Union) but went underground, when they realized, that a strong stand might mean their political future could be jeopardized.

They have been rejected by the "Canadian" Labour Congress which recognises the American based Unions, but fails to allow the Canadian Pulp & Paper Workers to participate in its functions.

But, they have not been rejected by the General Public who have not lost their sense of values, and whose acceptance of the workers case, has confirmed the cause is just.

Over the years little by little, dissatisfaction with the International handling of Canadian affairs, snowballed into a major crisis in the Pulp & Paper Industry. This feeling was also shared in other industries controlled by the International Unions. The desire for Canadians to handle their own affairs, became a dominant talking point in Union meetings, publications and wherever union men got together. This desire of the workers to control their own destiny, resulted in the Canadian Pulp & Paper Workers Union being formed in 1963.

There are numerous reasons why the dissatisfaction started among the membership of International Locals. The following are probably the most important:

The rank and file felt, that they did not have any say in the decisions of the leadership, which, having their base abroad, was too far removed to understand the prob-

lems and issues. Neither did they have an equal say in choosing the leaders.

The question of finances was a very sore point with the workers. Half of their monthly dues found their way into the International H.Q. in New York, and very little of those millions of dollars ever returned.

The National feeling to be "Masters of our Own House."

The exorbitantly high salaries, plus expenses, paid to the executives, and their extravagant manner of living. Plus the fact, that Union funds are readily available to them, contrasts too sharply with the lot of the lunch-bucket toting workers.

Corruption and gangster-type tactics are common practice in the top echelons of some International Unions. Over the last few years the press have widely publicised the court proceedings involving them.

This is an extract from a statement by Judge V. R. Cole, from Longview, Washington, U.S.A., taken from a transcript of the Case.

The Judge declared:

"The International comes into this Court Seeking Equitable Relief with Unclean Hands."

and further in the case the Judge censored the International and its President, Mr.

Joseph Tonelli, for their "primitive" methods of operation.

Quote:

"Joseph Tonelli is the President of International and was formerly Vice-President. The evidence clearly establishes that Tonelli purchased a \$45,000.00 home with a swimming pool, a new Cadillac car and financed an extravagant wedding at a time when his reported income would barely provide modest room and board. For instance, during a year when he paid out \$3,200.00 towards his daughter's \$5,200.00 wedding, his annual income was \$7,800.00. Tonelli's nineteen year old son, who was living with him at home at the time, obtained \$4,000.00 to invest in a corporation engaged in the pulp and paper industry and Tonelli stated that he did not know where his son obtained the money. Tonelli denies any other source of income than his salary from the International."

This is the very same International Union that the workers of Harmac have repudiated, but their Government is trying to force this corrupt organisation upon them. It has become evident during this conflict that our Provincial Government is favouring the con-

tinued existence of the corrupt elements in the Province of British Columbia.

The International Unions here in Canada, have been sending their delegations to various conventions in the U.S.A. and it appears that the "Big Brothers" were not "bending an ear" to them. The delegates were disillusioned by their reception and treatment as Canadians, and to add insult to injury, they were often shouted down, and the feelings of "brotherhood" were greatly strained.

All these events, plus many more, too numerous to mention, played a great part in increasing the rift between the workers and the International. The sense of disinterest had been so prevalent even among the executive of the International Local, that they performed their duties without enthusiasm, not even paying too much attention to the By-Laws of the Local. The members would not attend the regular meetings. The present President of the "Make Believe" International Local in Harmac himself made a statement under oath, October 12th, 1966, before the Labour Relations Board. "It was very hard to elect officers during the last few years, only a few wanted to participate in the affairs of the International Local. The average number of members that came to the meetings was from 30 to 40 out of 1,000 members."

Mr. T. Berger, the legal counsel for the International Local, pointed out to the Labour Relations Board at the same hearing, that it was the officials who were at fault at the time, continuing, and I quote, "And I would submit they ought not to be allowed to *benefit* from their own wrong doing." Even their own legal counsel admitted the workers would benefit by having a Canadian Union. I realise the officers of the International Local failed to abide by the provisions of the By-Laws, and the members failed to support and take an active role. That is why we must face reality, the undeniable fact is, it is the rank and file and their participation that make a union. If this factor is not present it remains just a show on paper, as is the present set up of the International Local in Harmac.

The Canadian Union has shown to the workers new goals and inspirations to create something better and lasting, for their own benefit. This enthusiasm can be seen in their meetings since the beginning of May. The average attendance is usually 450, which contrasts sharply with the attendance of the International group, who can field no more than 37 in this same period. Quite frequently in daily life we meet similar parallels to this. If you are reading a newspaper article which is boring, you leave it and turn to a more interesting one. If a meal does not

taste right, no one can force it down. When a child lives in an unhappy home surrounded by maybe drunkenness and lack of care, it will leave that environment as soon as it is able, and seek a fresh start somewhere else.

The men of Harmac are capable of doing their own thinking and choosing their own Union. At the crossroads they took the right path, turning their back on the old Union with all its disillusionments.

I would call this a "natural evolution" of the labour movement, where unusual circumstances do not exist to hinder its course. These workers wishing to make the change have more than their share of "unusual circumstances" to fight against.

It should not be a surprise to anyone, that workers are breaking away from the International Unions, here in Canada, when even the pulpmill workers of the West Coast of the United States are themselves breaking away from the same International to form their own units, so great is their frustration.

I quote a statement in a newspaper by an International Local Vice-President. "If your house is dirty, you don't burn it down." I'd like to mention that the International "House" which the workers have occupied for half a century, is so dilapidated that it is no use trying to prop it up. Looking at it

from the business angle, there are 7 or 8 of these fast talking "business" agents who are trying to dress up this "house" about to collapse and attempting to sell it for new, to the workers of Harmac and other places.

The old saying is "Once bitten, twice shy."

The Canadian Pulp & Paper Workers of Canada consists of

President unpaid

Vice-President—

acting Organiser (full time)

Salary\$168.50 per week

Secretary-Treasurer unpaid

The two past Presidents who were mill workers during their term of office, received only their hourly rate paid by the Company. It was only when they were attending to the Union business which necessitated time from their work, where they paid \$18 per day for out of town expenses, the same rate as received by other delegates or officials.

It is quite evident that the Canadian Union is run by its rank and file, with no exorbitant salaries to attract undesirable elements, but only those who sincerely believe in this movement of Independence for Canadian Labour.

Contrary to the International Unions it is the rank and file who elect the executive

officers of the Canadian Union. Also, one member of every Canadian Union Local, is an unpaid Officer in the National Executive.

It was not possible for me to find the final figures for the salaries, expenses, "fringe benefits" of the executive members of the International Brotherhood of Pulp & Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, as it is a closely guarded secret.

I can only quote the figures in the Constitution and By-laws of the International Union.

President Secretary	\$400 per week
Executive Officers	\$300 per week
(other than Pres. Sec.)	

The Organisation of Pulp & Sulphite consists of

President Secretary

11 Vice-Presidents

The number of other Executive officers is unknown.

CHAPTER 3.

In the beginning of May 1966, 98% of the men joined the Canadian Union leaving only a handful for the International Local. For several weeks, the Canadian Local fulfilled the obligations as a Union. The International Local had ceased to exist for lack of members.

It was then, that Mr. Tonelli, the President of the International woke up in the New York Head Office. Realising, if Harmac went Canadian, the rest of the mills would follow, and he would lose the goose that laid the golden eggs, it was imperative that the workers must be brought back into his fold, one way, or another. So he decided to proceed to Nanaimo. On his way here, Mr. Tonelli was interviewed on May 12th 1966, and he told a press conference:

“We are a responsible Union, but we have to resort at times, to doing things the primitive way.”!!

Accompanied by the then, B.C. Federation of Labour Secretary, Mr. E. P. O’Neal, to the Nanaimo Canadian Union meeting where they addressed the membership, in an attempt to bring them back to the International, they were firmly repudiated by the membership in no uncertain terms, and obliged to beat a retreat.

Breathing fire and slaughter, Tonelli proceeded to put his “machinery” into action, but first he must obtain a smart operator with special qualifications. His ally, Pat O’Neal, also smarting from this unaccustomed reception (being used to being received with great approbation and applause) was at hand. He was appointed there and then as Regional Organising Director for

the International, which meant abandoning his previous post as responsible Labour Leader and taking his thirty pieces of silver, he proceeded to join Mr. Tonelli in his "primitive" slime.

Forming an executive for the International was hard sledding for E. P. O'Neal, but by approaching individuals, he managed to pull together a skeleton crew, from which to form an executive. Only 7 persons were present at the first "get together" and a certain individual whose faculties were considered among the millworkers to be questionable, was placed at the helm.

Meanwhile, in the beginning of May, the Canadian Locals of Prince George, Elk Falls, Port Mellon and Harmac (all in B.C.) had applied for Canadian Charter. Now the "machinery" of the International went into action, to delay the Hearing for these Canadian Locals, in order to give the International more time to re-group and enabling them to participate in the forth coming Wage Negotiations between the International Union and the Companies. The International was aware, that the Contract with the employer would expire shortly. In July the International sent their delegates to Vancouver, who signed up the two year Wage Contract with the Employers, just prior to the August 2nd Hearing. With this matter safely packaged the International was pro-

vided with a club, by the Company, with which to beat the dissidents back into line and they have never missed a chance to wield it.

How could it be possible for this small group, to sign up a contract and claim they represented the Harmac workers, when 95% of these workers had defected and sworn allegiance to another Union. The Company was well aware at the time of signing that the Canadian Union was the real representative of the men, but covering their patronage with cries to press and radio of being "the innocent victim" in an inter-Union dispute, they proceeded to play along with the International.

The supporters of the Canadian Union now had a double fight on their hands (due to the machinery set in action by Tonelli) Fighting against bureaucracy in its worst form, red tape, purposely created delay, false assurances and etc., etc.

Fighting against the International which had an unlimited supply of money and means at its disposal. I am not dramatising this conflict. It is a drama for those directly involved, for only they are aware of the cloak and dagger tactics employed against them, of which the general public is unaware. Scurrilous pamphlets, anonymous 'phone calls and letters, twisted radio broad-

casts and "stooged" questions, threats to women petitioners, behind the scenes pressures on the parties involved, flagrant lies publicly proclaimed as truth, and all the other means of persuasion used on the workers of the mill to snare them back into the International fold.

For the last six months Mr. E. P. O'Neal has been smearing the members of the Executive, mainly Mr. Wickham, the President of the Canadian Local, hoping the rank and file would turn their backs to him and other officers and run back to the International.

(I would like to point out to the reader, that the workers of Harmac did not "go Canadian" because of the Executive. It was a spontaneous desire by the men, to run their own affairs here in Canada.)

These above mentioned schemes have not worked. Mr. E. P. O'Neal and what he stands for have been repudiated by the men.

I have already referred to Mr. Tonelli's statement that at times they "have to resort to doing things the primitive way".

From Gordon Wilkinson the field representative of the *Canadian Labour Congress*, in a statement 29th October 1966. "We have a job to do, even if we have to step on someone's toes to do it."

He was referring to bringing back the men to the International.

A statement from Jim Spencer, Vice-President of an International Local.

"Majority of membership cannot be used as a gimmick to decertify our Union during this interim period."

Mr. Spencer here surprisingly enough, is admitting that the Canadian Local has the majority.

One official of the International Union in Nanaimo proclaimed "the Canadian Union so far has the members, but we have the money, so therefore we are bound to win."

The Chief International Regional Director, H. Lorraine who came from Montreal HQ to Vancouver on a "business" trip produced this little gem:

"We have already broken the back of the Canadian Labour Unions."

He was so dazzled by his "sparkler" that he failed to see the flaw in it.

This is a mild sample of the statements flying around which failed to achieve the desired result for the International.

The Labour Relations Board Hearing for Certification of the Canadian Union was announced for August 2nd 1966. Hopes ran high as the day approached. Now, at last the Canadian Union with its Certification granted would once more be able to proceed peacefully with its business. The Execu-

tive of the Canadian Local were working day and night preparing the paper work.

CHAPTER 4.

The Canadian Locals of Port Mellon, Prince George, Elk Falls and Harmac, had had their applications in for this Labour Relations Board Hearing since the beginning of May. I did not attend this Hearing in Vancouver and I wrote to the Labour Relations Board asking for a verbatim report, after hearing Mr. E. P. O'Neal stating on the local radio, that anybody could receive a copy of the Hearing by requesting it. This statement is typical of the O'Neal "line" and as substantial as the smoke that billows from his pipe.

For this was the reply from the Labour Relations Board:

"I would advise you that verbatim reports of the Labour Relations Board Hearings with regard to the application for certification made by the Pulp & Paper Workers of Canada, are not available, since it is not the Board's practice to have such records made of its hearings."

I did however gain much information first hand from the people who were in attendance.

The following events took place in the hearing August 2nd 1966. The Canadian Charter for Port Mellon was tabled, thrown out under the ruling that the Canadian Local did not have the majority of the membership in that mill. The issue is clouded because even I am aware that to receive a Charter in any mill in B.C. when it is a question of two rival Unions, the one with the majority of membership gets the Charter, provided that the Labour Relations Board Act is carried out fairly. It is unlikely to my mind, that the workers of Port Mellon would have applied for a charter, if they were unsure of their majority. Skulduggery is inferred, but not proven.

The Canadian Charter for Elk Falls, was thrown out on hearsay evidence of intimidation and irregularities. Affidavits presented to that effect by the International, were completely exposed as fabrication by our lawyer. People who had sworn out these affidavits, when cross-examined contradicted themselves. The International witnesses said before the Labour Relations Board, that some of their members' wives at Elk Falls, had answered the phone, only to hear heavy breathing in the earpiece, who the caller was, was left to the imagination of the Labour Relations Board Members, and on these grounds the Canadian Charter had been thrown out.

The Canadian Charter for Prince George was thrown out on the pretext of a technical mistake in the application, and Harmac suffered the same fate.

Now, to my personal knowledge, the Labour Relations Board Act was framed with the understanding, that ordinary laymen would be using its provisions, not lawyers.

Furthermore Section 70 of the Act states: "No proceeding under this Act shall be deemed invalid by reason of any defect in form of any technical irregularity. 1954, c 17. s.70."

(Tonelli's machinery was producing.)

To the Harmac workers the rejection of their Application for Certification was a great blow. The men could not believe it was possible, as the Canadian Union had such a vast majority of 95%. After recovering from the shock, they eagerly responded to the call for action at the next mass meeting, which was attended by over 600 people. At this meeting the President of the Canadian Local Mr. Wickham stated, "The Harmac workers have made their decision to 'Go Canadian'. It is the rank and file in the Canadian Local that makes the decisions, not a few self-styled leaders, as in the International, which has poured thousands of dollars into a massive propaganda cam-

paign, but the workers will not be swayed by it."

A unanimous decision was made to hold a mass demonstration in the town, and follow it up with a trek to Victoria, to present to the Government a Petition for the Decertification of the International Union.

The day after the Hearing, Pat O'Neal made a statement on the local radio. "Now, we will proceed to decertify the Canadian Union in Crofton, Prince Rupert, Castlegar and other places."

(It should be remembered that these locals received their Canadian Charter in 1963.) This was obviously a slip of the tongue, which unintentionally revealed International Policies which would serve better, if they had remained hidden from public view.

CHAPTER 5.

We had a beautiful morning for our Parade, and the whole family drove down to the Parkade, in the heart of downtown Nanaimo. Each of us carried a placard bearing various slogans, "GO CANADIAN", "A FREE VOTE FOR A CANADIAN UNION", etc., and we were soon mingling with the crowd and admiring each others "literary" efforts. The children finding their friends, were thoroughly enjoying the occa-

sion. Perhaps a prize could have gone to one sign bearing the word "SANDS". This depicted an ostrich with its head buried in the sand, and as "SANDS" is the name of the Chairman of the Labour Relations Board, it was a most appropriate effort.

By ten o'clock about 500 workers and their families had assembled, and the speeches commenced. It was a most heart-warming send off. The Mayor of Nanaimo, Mr. Pete Maffeo, stating that our cause was right, wished us well. He was followed by Mr. Strachan, the NDP Leader of the Opposition. He stated that he believed the workers should have the right to belong to the Union of their choice. "I'm with you 100%," he said.

(The following day repercussions arrived for Mr. Strachan, in the blast from Mr. E. P. O'Neal (who never misses a trick), of "Running off at the mouth and making irresponsible statements, and not checking his "facts". Another politician bit the dust, effectively silenced.)

It was the most impressive cavalcade Vancouver Island has ever seen. About 200 cars escorted by police and outriders, proceeded along the Island Highway to Crofton, where they were joined by a further contingent of supporters of the Canadian Union. Extensive press coverage was given to the whole trek by TV and all the local press and radio

stations. We assembled in the beautiful City Hall Plaza in Victoria, where among the speakers from various Canadian Locals was Orville Braaten, a member of the Executive of the Canadian Union, and one of the most able fighters in the movement.

The city was looking its best, everyone was smiling and a press reporter described the scene as "A Picnic with Banners". We were as happy as we were determined and hopeful and still sure that justice would be done. In this mood we moved off down the main thoroughfare, Douglas Street. The police had blocked off the traffic, and we were able to march with banners flying and placards waving, past the throngs of shoppers and tourists who congregated to watch. At the Legislature we assembled on the steps where TV cameras were whirring. Naturally, more speeches were made, all stressing the same point, a Canadian Union for Canadian Workers. Mr. Chant, the Minister of Works, arrived to accept the Petition which was addressed to Mr. Peterson, the Minister of Labour (who by sheer coincidence was out of town).

"We the undersigned hourly paid employees of MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., Harmac Division, wish to state that we are not, in our opinion, members of Local 695 International Brotherhood Pulp Sulphite & Paper Mill

Workers, and do not wish to become members. That Local 695 does not represent us and we do not wish it to represent us; and furthermore we earnestly request that the Collective Bargaining Certificate Local 695 be cancelled forthwith."

This petition was signed by 822 members and the signatures were collected during the week, outside the pulpmill.

Mr. Chant receiving the petition made a short statement. "I am here to accept the petition on behalf of Mr. Peterson and the Provincial Government. But, no doubt, with perseverance, you folk will carry through."

We left the Legislature feeling that with this great display of solidarity for the Canadian Union, as responsible Canadians, we had shown the public that our desire was real and factual. This was confirmed by press reports which stated that "the message was hard and clear, to press their point, 800 workers brought their wives and children in a massive cavalcade Saturday, from Nanaimo, to the steps of the parliament buildings, they were an orderly, polite, happy crowd, they let their placards do the talking."

Another report stated, "such reports following a safe and well conducted convoy, the largest ever on the Island, are reassur-

ing in this age of more or less mob rule. But there was none of this in the Nanaimo Har-mac demonstration. Clear thinking leaders warned against retaliation should offence arise. They urged a safe and sane presentation of their case, and the marchers obeyed. They smiled as they pleaded their cause and all came home in a happy mood."

Shortly afterwards, Mr. E. P. O'Neal trying to laugh off this most publicised event, declared in a radio broadcast "They were chased out of the car lot by the police." Perhaps this piece of fiction originated from one of O'Neal's stooges who was watching the proceedings, and couldn't tell a fantasy from a fact if they both sat up and begged for him.

Further to the mass demonstration in Victoria, a delegation from the Canadian Local met with Mr. Peterson in Victoria. They were able to present their case, but only received vague assurances from the Minister, that it would only be a matter of time before they were recognised. This was typical of the delaying tactics that the Union received whenever it approached officials of the Board and Government.

I should point out that since the beginning of May to August 2nd 1966 (the first Labour Relation Board Hearing) while the Application for Canadian Local was pending, there was not one statement from the

Government of B.C. nor the officials of the International, or the Company involved, saying there should be a Government supervised vote.

After the Hearing, the public clamour through radio, press and other news media enquiring why the workers of Harmac should not have a vote was becoming so loud, that Mr. E. P. O'Neal, hastily donning the gown of righteousness rushed out to join in. Choking with emotion, he declared that of course the men must have the vote, but in the proper order of things, May or June 1967. (Knowing full well that during this interim period, he could employ all his devious tactics in forging new chains to re-shackle the workers.)

CHAPTER 6.

Now that the public was conscious of the struggle between the two Unions, and receiving the story from both sides through the news media and evaluating the merits of the case, the overwhelming majority threw their support on the Canadian side.

That became evident when the wives of the workers concerned, went out on the streets and shopping centres, wherever the public congregated, to collect signatures to a petition.

"We the undersigned urge Mr. Peterson to intervene and grant to the

workers of Harmac, Elk Falls and Prince George, a Government supervised secret vote, which will enable them to choose a Union of their own liking."

The public response was so great, that in a short while thousands of signatures were collected and forwarded to Mr. Peterson, the Minister of Labour in B.C. To illustrate the public response, I might mention here, that in one day, on the main street of Nanaimo, I collected 986 signatures. Anyone who has ever had any experience in collecting signatures on the streets, knows that this is not possible unless the people are aware of the facts. It was this warm demonstration and the encouraging comments I received, that prompted me to go to Vancouver and demonstrate on the steps of the Labour Relations Board, to impress the government body that "juggling" must come to an end and justice be done.

My stay on the steps of the Labour Relations Board was a memorable experience, having the opportunity to speak with the people from all walks of life, listening to their opinions on the matter and also hearing about their particular problems, often concerned with the labour field. I must have spoken to people representing about every Union in Vancouver. Many of them were International Union members themselves,

but they agreed that we were entitled to a vote to choose our own Union. Only one International organiser was opposed to my petition. There were also a number of Union people who stayed with me and who were actively fighting for this cause. They supplied me with free meals, coffee and a camp bed.

The press media were immensely interested in all the activity. I remember one incident, I was bundled up in my sweaters and sleeping bag, when about midnight reporters arrived from the Vancouver Sun. At this late hour the photographer suggested I try to appear "A little more sexy". Later in the night I was aroused from my sleep by the kind enquiry from a passerby, to know if I was "dead or alive". Then a curious student, homeward bound with the dawn, wondering what was "going on". Half asleep I mumbled an account of my reasons for the demonstration, and he apologised for waking me and went his way, first signing the petition.

Only one incident marred my stay. Mr. E. P. O'Neal decided to put an end to my little effort to bring this struggle to the public eye. One afternoon, a man arrived and began taking pictures of my set up. On the steps of the Labour Relations Board rested a coffin draped with the Canadian

Flag, and a headstone bearing the inscription:

"Here lies the right to belong to a Union of your own choice. Our Government gave it. The Labour Relations Board took it away."

I approached him and spoke to him assuming he was from the press. He stated, "I am from Pat O'Neal and you are going to get it."

A number of other women petitioners experienced the same treatment in other localities. These tactics are worthy of Chicago, but I must admit I was a little shaken to be on the receiving end of a threat myself. I called the police and reported the incident. The police assured me that they would give me protection, so I shouldn't worry. I replied that if I was 6'2" and carrying a revolver I would not be worried either.

CHAPTER 7.

It was in the midst of this Union struggle that Premier Bennett announced a Provincial Election and overnight the whole matter became a political issue.

The Canadian Union did not want the matter to become a "Political football" but it could not be avoided. As it was realised that the workers of Harmac had the decisive say as to who would represent the riding, the three candidates approached the

question cautiously. Though they were all eager to support the "Free Vote for a Canadian Union" none of them were prepared to make a strong stand on it for obvious reasons.

The NDP Candidate was afraid he would lose the voters from the other International Locals, if he gave solid backing to the Canadian Local. The other fact is that the main body of the International backs the NDP and to go against his own party's policy would put him in an unfavourable light with them. Only after the election did he take a strong stand, denouncing the Labour Relations Board Ruling against the De-Certification of the International Local of October 11th 1966.

The Social Credit Candidate was handicapped likewise, for it was his party in power in Victoria which made all the decisions regarding the status of the Canadian Union. (The Labour Relations Board is a provincially appointed government body.) To argue publicly against his own party policies, would make him unwelcome among them. It is regrettable that the Liberals failed to make a strong stand, as I cannot see any local political implications that would have been detrimental to them.

The Conservative Party and their leaders have been sound asleep in the matter. They regularly proclaim themselves as Cham-

pions of Freedom and Civil Liberties, but faced with reality, the party prefers to remain silent, as in the case of Harmac, where a gross miscarriage of justice by a Government Agency took place. This issue involves Civil Liberties. The Conservative Party cannot claim that this is a storm in a teacup, or an Inter-Union fight, to hide their non-partisan attitude to these privileges that every citizen must have.

The Communist Party has always supported the International Labour Unions. In the Harmac issue they advocated a free vote along with the other four parties.

The Attorney General of B.C. Mr. Bonner, appearing on the TV, just prior to the election, made a statement that the Labour Relations Board had overstepped its powers in its handling of the Application for Certification of the Canadian Union. He said the Labour Relations Board had taken a semi-judicial position, while not being a judicial body. It would appear to me, that if there had not been any behind the scenes manipulations, the Attorney General would have been obliged to have stepped in and corrected the situation. (Tonelli's machinery working overtime.)

There have been some politicians who have said strong words. The New Democrat T. Moran stated:

"I think it is the duty of every Canadian to stand up and be counted and fight for an all Canadian Union."

After the election the political situation in this riding remained unchanged. The New Democrat Mr. D. Stupich remained in the driver's seat.

CHAPTER 8.

As the reader remembers, the application for Canadian Charter by the workers of Harmac was thrown out by the Labour Relations Board August 2nd, 1966. Shortly after, they entered another application, this time, for the Decertification of the International Local 695, containing 822 signatures, in order to get a government supervised secret ballot to decide which Union was to represent the workers.

Further unreasonable delays and excuses postponed the Hearing until October 11th. Only a few days before the Hearing, the lawyer for the Canadian Local informed the Executive that additional new declarations were required.

Individual declarations were to be submitted as follows:

I, (name of hourly paid employee) of MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. Harmac Pulp Division declare, I am *not* paying dues to Local 695, nor do I intend to.

I am delinquent under the Constitution of the International and Local 695 by-laws and the collective agreement in force at my place of work. I did not participate in the election of the officers of Local 695. I do not participate in any of the Local 695's decisions, nor do I intend to. I do not concur in any of Local 695's decisions with respect to maintaining their certification as bargaining agents at Har-mac. I have not attended a meeting of Local 695 since May 6th 1966. I do not consider the Local 695 represents me in my relationship with my employer under the collective agreement, nor do I wish them to. I declare the above facts to be true, and state that I do not consider myself a member of Local 695 IBPS&PMW, but in any event, if there is any doubt in anyone's mind that I am a member, I hereby revoke such membership.

Again 768 signed these statements. There would have been many more but for the fact that many men were on holiday at the time.

Just two days before the Hearing on October 11th, a news bulletin was received by the workers which read:

"A new declaration will be presented to you for your signature (sorry

about that) indicating your willingness to uphold the present Labour agreement. This declaration is important to the Labour Relations Board in reaching their decision."

In two days 700 signatures were obtained outside of the working area.

I must clarify why these last signatures were collected. A few days before the Hearing, a deputation met with the Minister of Labour Mr. Peterson, who indicated that the only grounds the Labour Relations Board might have for refusing the application for Decertification could be the failure by the workers to uphold the existing Wage Contract. Again the Canadian Local proved conclusively to the Minister of Labour and the Labour Relations Board that they would live up to that Wage Contract.

In reality, this was no issue at all. All the other Canadian Locals had the same contract, so common sense tells me that there is no valid reason why the Canadian Local in Harmac should break it. Once again the proverbial red herring was having an outing. The majority of the workers believed that they had overcome all the obstacles that had been put in their way, and the Canadian Local for Harmac would be legalised at last.

I sharpened my pencils and left for the Hearing.

By 10 a.m. an overflow crowd had assembled. It was only a small room so we were able to easily follow the proceedings and observe the actions and reactions of the participants clearly. The Canadian Local had obtained permission to bring a court recorder and also a tape recorder. This time we did not intend that our members be left in the dark as to the proceedings. The Board members and everyone else were seated and ready for business, when one of those little manoeuvres occurred, that have greater significance than appears at the time. Mr. E. P. O'Neal got up, bulldozed himself between the two lawyers, Mr. Laxton for the Canadian Local and Mr. Berger for the International. I imagine Mr. E. P. O'Neal must have strained his neck trying to read the notes in front of Mr. Laxton and then advising Mr. Berger. (The following day the situation was corrected.)

Mr. Laxton opened the Hearing, by producing solid evidence that the International Local did not represent the workers and did not exist any more, except on paper. Past Presidents of the International Local testified under oath, that the by-laws had not been carried out since 1955. The question of the wage contract was hotly debated and continued the next day.

The first day, the Canadian Local had altogether, five witnesses on the stand, and

they proved concretely, that the International Union in Harmac did not represent the workers and could not handle efficiently the Union business in the mill. In a nutshell, they didn't have the men to do it. There were numerous departments in the mill, that didn't have any shop stewards. e.g. One shop steward covered 11 departments and 225 workers, 11 different trades, plus serving on 4 different committees, plus working an eight hour shift. The International Union had 13 shop stewards where at least 45 would be required to do the job adequately. All the other committees necessary to run the affairs of the workers were filled by the same group of people. As is evident to the reader, it was just a show on paper, and anyone can see a verbatim report of the Hearing this time, by contacting the Canadian Union concerned, to verify these facts.

Two affidavits of intimidation and threats were presented as evidence (any amount could have been obtained if our lawyer had so wished). Our lawyer wished to point out to the Board, that these affidavits were irrelevant to the case, but in the last Hearing August 2nd affidavits of intimidation, that were presented against one of the Canadian Locals and exposed as fabrications, were accepted by the Board and used in judgment against that Canadian Local. It was proven to the Board that the Inter-

national Local was using tactics it accused the Canadian Local of using. When our lawyer asked Mr. Berger if he wished to examine our witnesses, Mr. Berger sarcastically remarked, "I can't see that Mrs. Royle has been maimed or harmed in any way." As though he were a final authority in the Art of Intimidation.

All the witnesses for the Canadian Local were cross examined by Mr. Berger (who I admit, is smart enough to twist a steel rail into a corkscrew with a few words) and he was unable to prove that the By-Laws of the International Local had been carried out since 1955.

At the end of the day the International Local presented the Board with the so called "Green Sheet" which showed the Officers and Committees elected at the International Union meeting of August 10th. After submitting this "green sheet" Mr. Berger made a speech asking the Board to throw out the Application for De-Certification of the International.

A recess was called and the lawyers were informed that the case would be continuing the following day.

The calling of witnesses by the International Local to attest to the veracity of the "Green Sheet" and their cross examination by the Canadian lawyer occupied the remainder of the Hearing, which was fol-

lowed by the summaries of the lawyers. The International put in the witness stand five of their members who tried to establish they were efficiently running the affairs of the men with their minority group. On the witness stand, this was proven by our lawyer to be a complete fallacy. Only one issue was proven to be true, the Canadian Local could not produce one case of an outstanding grievance because of the failure of the International Local to attend to it. There is a logical answer to this, the facts are that 95% of the workers in the mill do not take their grievances and problems to the International Local as they are members of the Canadian Local. The Company will not recognise the shop stewards and committees of the Canadian Local, and the issues have to be resolved the best way they can. A few isolated cases of members of the Canadian Local have been processed by the International.

As previously mentioned, this handful of men of the International Local, had signed the wage contract with the employer who had given a handy weapon to the International Local who testified that they had negotiated that collective agreement, they signed it, they arranged for the balloting, and they claimed that 209 voted for the contract and 1 against.

Under cross examination, they failed to produce any proof for these figures and the claimed checking off lists of voters were non-existent.

Even if 210 men had voted for the contract, it should have shown the Labour Relations Board that the Canadian Local had the overwhelming majority. In any case, the question of the contract was not an issue, since the Canadian Local had agreed to live up to it.

In the course of the questioning of an International witness, the lawyer for the Canadian Local, Mr. Laxton asked the witness if he would agree, that there should be a Government supervised secret ballot for the workers in Harmac. There was an immediate barrage from the International lawyer declaring their witness did not have to answer this question and asking the Chairman to rule the question out of order, which he did.

This can only show that the Labour Relations Board did not want the question of the vote to be raised, as they were well aware of the huge majority the Canadian Union had in Harmac. If a vote was allowed the International would have lost. This would have destroyed the blueprint that Tonelli had drawn up.

Finally, it was the turn of the lawyers to present their summaries.

We went to the Hearing in a hopeful spirit and we came away convinced that now, as the Labour Relations Board had heard all the evidence, which proclaimed without a shadow of doubt, that the Canadian Local was not only the representative of the Har-mac men on paper, but in flesh and blood, that this time justice would be done.

I packed my worn pencils and went home to await results.

CHAPTER 9.

This was a week, when the Canadian Local could sit back and relax for a short while, awaiting the results of the Hearing. In contrast, the propaganda from the International Local was in high gear.

The President of the International Local was running around offering \$50 bets that the International would never be De-Certified. Believing they could create a stampede, the International disciples started all kinds of rumours that hundreds of men had defected from the Canadian Local back to the International.

Other rumours were circulating, that the company was going to lay off men, and the men who didn't belong to the International would be fired first.

There is no doubt to my mind, that as a last resort Mr. E. P. O'Neal intends to put

pressure on the Company and try to force them to dismiss men who will not join the International Local.

When I was a child, in Ireland, my grandmother told me the old legend of how St. Patrick drove the snakes from Ireland. It appears one of them was so tough, that it eventually reached Vancouver.

Tuesday morning, October 18, 1966, the Bomb exploded, in the form of a letter from the Labour Relations Board stating in part:

“The Board was not satisfied that the trade Union (Int. Local) had ceased to represent the employees in the Units.”

It was there in black and white and we had to believe it. At first the men in the mill said it was “one of those International rumours again”, and refused to believe it. But later when it was confirmed by officials of the Canadian Local they had to accept it. Neither workers nor the public could understand this verdict.

A Union meeting was called for October 19th, 1966, the week following the Labour Relations Board Ruling and was attended by 90% of the Canadian Local. The press estimated a count of 650, and with 150 members on shift it was a most impressive expression of solidarity and strength.

The press, radio and TV gave full coverage to this most important meeting. The well known radio and TV personality Mr. Mark Raines and his camera crew were present. To use his own words, "I didn't come here to make speeches, I came to see for myself what kind of support the Canadian Local had." CBC Channel 2 was represented by Mrs. Flett, and the local press and radio sent their representatives.

Briefly, some of the highlights of the meeting:

The Canadian Local voted to begin a publicity campaign.

To send a delegation to meet with Premier Bennett.

They voted unanimously to send a telegram to the Government to demand the resignation of the Labour Relations Board.

They voted to empower the Executive to explore the possibility of a Supreme Court Hearing in B.C.

Speakers from various Canadian Locals were heard, all expressing support for this Local and condemning the ruling of the Board.

Mr. Dave Stupich the MLA for Nanaimo made a speech in which he declared:

"The decision was made quite apart from the evidence. However the most

important thing you can do, is to show the public you are responsible people. If you go to court, you might well lose the publicity, so you might consider another application in six months. But I'm convinced the decision of the Labour Relations Board was made some place else than at that Hearing."

He added that he would take the case to the floor of the Legislature.

I began contacting people to assess their reaction. They ranged from bewilderment, to bitterness and downright hostility against the Board, who could produce such a ruling in the face of all the evidence. The local citizens were well aware of the huge majority the Canadian Local had in the mill. In my survey of the business area downtown, the reaction was the same. 90% of the people felt that there should have been a vote granted to clarify the situation. 50% declared the Labour Relations Board to be in the wrong, and the others felt they needed to read up further on the matter.

In my personal opinion, the verdict was unjust and biased beyond belief, and if the Board had had one shred of honesty, it would have been obliged to grant the Canadian Local the government supervised secret vote for the Union of their choice. I can only add that the present Board is not fit

to sit in judgment on the people of this Province, it has openly trampled on the principles of Democracy, and as a body should be removed from Office.

The NDP MLA for Nanaimo Mr. Dave Stupich who had attended the two day Hearing, stated publicly, "There was absolutely no evidence at the Hearing which would lead the Labour Relations Board to the conclusion they reached. The decision was made quite apart from the evidence." This was his second statement.

It was quite obvious that Mr. Stupich did not come to this conclusion on the spur of the moment.

Let us look at the members of the Labour Relations Board in their right perspective:

The members of the Labour Relations Board and some of their former and present associations, etc.:

Chairman . . . and Deputy Minister of Labour, Mr. William H. Sands. Formerly Business Agent with Fruit and Vegetable Workers of Okanagan, TLC chartered before the CLC-CIO federated.

B.C. Govt. Member, Mr. G. Allan Little, B.C. Civil servant, Dept. of Labour and Board Vice-Chairman.

Labour Member Penrod Baskin . . . is an International Representative with United

Steel Workers of America. Office, Vancouver.

Labour Member, Mr. Charles Murdock . . .
Life Long Member of Street Railwaymens
Union now called Amalgamated Transit
Workers, Div. 101, Vancouver. Still drives
bus, not yet retired.

Mrs. Fraudema Eaton, retired wife of late
Col. Rex Eaton (Sal. Army). Womens
Board Member. Aged 74. 3 yrs. with Selec-
tive Service Commission, Ottawa, W.W. 2.
30 years member of LRB. Senior member.
Pre-War Social Worker, Decorated, O.B.E.

It is quite plain that many members of
the Board have connections with the Inter-
national Unions, and it would be out of
character for them to make a decision
against their own interests. To put it plainly,
it is a scandalous situation.

The workers in Harmac want to break
away from the International, whose
brothers in arms are set to judge the case.
Obviously, the Canadian Union was off on a
wild goose chase from the start. The Board
must go, and be replaced by individuals
who have no connections with big business
or labour unions. Neither must the lawyers
be allowed to spin their interminable spider
webs to camouflage the basic issues, and

winning the case for those who can afford the biggest web.

The Labour Relations Board have flagrantly trampled down the Labour Relations Act by assuming the authority that even the Supreme Court of B.C. does not possess. The decision to choose their own Union rests with the workers alone. It is the only function of the Labour Relations Board in this case, to assist them and find out what Union the majority want. This can be achieved quite easily and painlessly by a government supervised secret ballot.

A free vote and the secret ballot are the cornerstones of Democracy, and only when an individual commits a crime against our society does he lose those privileges.

The workers of Harmac have broken no laws, and by taking their civil rights away from them, the Labour Relations Board has broken the Civil Law.

Our Government in Ottawa is there to guard the Civil Rights and Liberties of every Canadian citizen, whether in B.C. or Newfoundland. It is right and just that our Federal Government institute a Royal Commission to investigate and bring this case to a just conclusion.

CHAPTER 10.

A new explosion rocked the Canadian Union as their delegates assembled in Van-

couver for their Annual Convention. It was another revelation of "primitive" International tactics, so full of implications and double subterfuge that only a warped mind could conceive it.

Delegates of the Canadian Union moving furniture in the Convention Room at the Ritz Hotel, Vancouver, accidentally discovered an electrical transmitter, but at the time no one was aware of what it actually was. However, two telephone calls were received, tipping off the Canadian Union that their rooms were being "bugged". A private detective was called in, and with special equipment he located two devices. The Canadian Union, anxious to proceed with their convention, turned the whole matter over to the City Police and the Department of Transport, for a full investigation. A large amount of electronic equipment estimated as being worth at least \$700 was seized, together with tapes, extensive notes and a most revealing list of telephone numbers. Some unlisted. Among these unlisted numbers was one belonging to Mr. E. P. O'Neal.

While this news was breaking, Mr. E. P. O'Neal had been busy in Nanaimo conniving with mill management to further disturb the millworkers by forcing new workers to join the International Union, or be fired. Fleeing this most pleasant pasture he made

a dash for the ferry, to Vancouver and anonymity, with reporters hot on his heels. Roaring like a wounded bull, he sounded across the local airways declaring the whole thing was "utter rubbish and nonsense". He denied all knowledge of the "bugging". These people blame everything on me, even if their kids get the measles, it's my fault, or the International's." He suggested the Canadian Union had themselves "bugged" the rooms, to get publicity. Later in the evening a more subdued O'Neal appeared on the T.V. News. His roars had subsided to a banshee wail but still he denied all knowledge of the affair.

Immediately following his interview, the newsclip was shown of the private detective who admitted to having placed the electronic equipment in the Union Convention in the Ritz Hotel. He made a most startling statement. He was, he declared, approached by two members of the Security Branch of the R.C.M.P. one of them later introduced him to Mr. E. P. O'Neal, who paid him a \$250 retainer by Union cheque (a small example of how the International Union's funds are used) to place electronic listening devices in the Convention rooms of the Canadian Union. (The primitive ooze began to thicken.)

By Wednesday morning the whole area of Southern B.C. was rocking. The Attorney

General Mr. Bonner had called for a full investigation of the R.C.M.P. "implications" in this case of the "bugging" of the Canadian Union Convention. It should be pointed out that there is no criminal offense involved under Canadian Law in the placing of electronic equipment to spy on anyone. In fact, the law is, as usual, 50 years behind the times in catching up with yet another utterly deplorable invasion of privacy. This case is another example of the corrupt tactics from which the Canadian Unions have been fighting to free themselves.

The screams of innocence even resounded to us from New York. Mark Raines, on his morning TV show 'phoned Mr. Tonelli in his New York offices of the International Union. To Mr. Raines' questions Mr. Tonelli denied any knowledge of the incidents concerning Mr. O'Neal's duplicity and declared "It's the first time this has ever happened in the history of our Union. I know nothing about it, and I do not condone it" (bugging). He promised he would order a full investigation through Mr. Henry Lorraine, the Vice President of the International in Montreal, and he would "issue directives" through his executive.

While the press hounds were giving tongue, Mr. E. P. O'Neal had quietly holed up and was awaiting developments. Thursday morning he emerged from his "primi-

tive" mud hole, making a statement to the press, that he did pay \$250 to the detective, but he "didn't know anything about the snooping devices". O'Neal said he wanted to get information about intimidation and threats that had been used against the International by the Canadian Local. For this reason he had hired the detective.

I can safely say that Mr. E. P. O'Neal will get "primitive" treatment from Mr. Tonelli for committing such a blunder as getting caught redhanded. We have to bear in mind that Mr. O'Neal was in Nanaimo on November 7th, contacting a company official. Shortly after a company official started calling in to the office one by one, a number of young workers, telling them that they must become members of the International or else their services will be terminated. One company official, uneasy at having to carry out this directive, indicated that he was on the spot and had to carry out the order.

Next on the list of business on that Monday, October 7th, the International had mailed to the Harmac Workers a scurrilous news letter purporting to come from the Progressive Workers (the Peking faction of the Communist Party) attacking Mr. E. P. O'Neil and the Labour Relations Board in the most exaggerated communist-jargon. The old red bogey was being sent to flap through Nanaimo, to give O'Neal an oppor-

tunity for one of his "Holier than Thou" speeches for the local radio.

This form of propaganda had shown up before, but this time there is evidence that the source of this letter was the International headed here in B.C. by Mr. E. P. O'Neal. The Communist Party has always supported the International Labour Movement and Unions even before the Canadian Union was formed, nobody can deny the fact that this is not so. Mr. O'Neal has been associating with the Labor Movement for many years, and during that time has associated with many people who follow the Communist ideology and never during those years has he denounced their principles, or smeared their characters. Now, since he shook hands with Mr. Tonelli in May, he has been off on a red witch hunt. He had been paid big money by Tonelli to carry out the destruction of the Canadian Union and he found a convenient if outdated weapon, in red baiting and smear tactics.

If democracy is to exist there must be tolerance of all groups of different ideologies. It is up to the individual himself to choose his own ideology and nobody has the right to point the finger and proclaim "Brand X is not right for you".

Hot on the heels of the Attorney General's call for an investigation by the R.C.M.P.

came an appointment by Premier Bennett of a Royal Commission to investigate. "As Premier, I'm alarmed about the situation and therefore am appointing a Royal Commission to investigate fully", Mr. Bennett said. "The Government has watched very closely the controversy which has been going on for some time, between these two unions, and we are shocked at what happened in the last few days in this hotel, where one union was holding its meetings".

It is not at all surprising for the Government to make a statement such as "watching the situation very closely". They were well aware of the love affair between the International and the Labour Relations Board, for a long time. They were watching very carefully indeed, and holding the lid on the pot so that it wouldn't boil over and expose the mess beneath.

For the last six months, the Labour Relations Board has been working hand in hand with the International denying civil rights to the workers of Harmac. The Ministers of the Government, never lifted a finger to enforce the law of the land. Why did the Government not interfere? Clearly because their own agency was in collusion with the International. Now that the pot has been boiling so hard and the lid couldn't be kept on, the clatter reached Ottawa, waking the

Federal Authorities to investigate the contents of the pot themselves.

Mr. Bennett was quick to try and counteract any such move by appointing his own Royal Commission to investigate the affair of the union "bugging" incident and invasion of privacy, thus drawing the attention of the public away from the wrongdoing of the Labour Relations Board which is the body that should be investigated by a Federal Royal Commission.

On the occasion of the Canadian Local meeting in May, when Mr. Tonelli and Mr. E. P. O'Neal were sitting side by side, they made a great show of solidarity.

While Mr. O'Neal was addressing the meeting, someone shouted from the floor "How about being a Canadian for a change?"

Mr. O'Neal replied "I am Irish and I don't have to apologise to anybody."

It is regrettable that it is the other Irish people like myself, who have to continuously apologise for his being Irish.

His unmentionable code of ethics does no credit to any nation.

EPILOGUE

The struggle itself continues . . .

The whole purpose of this account has been to bring the truth before the public, that they may understand the total issue and what is at stake.

We look to those leaders of the Nation, whose integrity is unquestionable, and who have the courage to stand up and Act, to restore these Civil Rights to the workers who have been denied them.

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